The History & Culture of Chamba

राज्य संग्रहालय
7299
प्रो० बी०एन० पुरी
संग्रह
लखनऊ

Seminar at the Bhuri Singh Museum
SEPTEMBER 1983

7299

DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES & CULTURE
HIMACHAL PRADESH

Cover : Detail of the bronze image of Vaikuntha in the Hari Rai Temple, Chamba Town, Draw by Shri O. P. Kashyap, Artist, Himachal Academy of Arts, Culture & Languages.

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हिमाचल प्रदेश

प्रो० बी० एन० पुरी संग्रह
लखनऊ

Chief Minister
Himachal Pradesh,
Simla-171 002.

Message

It gives me much pleasure to know that the Department of Languages and Culture, is organising an All India Seminar on the 'History and Culture of Chamba' from 26th September to 28th September 1983, at the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. On account of its location in the heart of the Himalayas, the archaeological evidence has least been disturbed in the ancient principality of Chamba. I feel that the results of an intensive study of a small area, rich in cultural heritage, will be revealing. Moreover, this study possesses significance for a much wider region, i.e. north-western India, in understanding the history and culture of the people. Apart from the educative value of the Seminar, it will help to create an interest among the people in general in the State to know their past heritage and culture. I believe that scholars from the University and colleges will also be associated with the seminar.

In fact, the vast potential of the educational role of the museums has not been adequately appreciated in our country. I am happy on this venture of the department and do hope that other unexplored areas in the State shall also be studied systematically.

I wish all success for the Seminar.

(VIRBHADRA SINGH)
Chief Minister

A NOTE FROM THE ORGANISER

The exploration and research work undertaken by Dr. J.Ph. Vogel in the beginning of this century in the ancient principality of Chamba, resulted in bringing out of two important publications on archaeology, particularly on the epigraphical material discovered in Chamba. The number of the ancient inscriptions discovered in this small area was so large that in the whole of the Himalayas, Chamba was reckoned as important for the antiquarian studies and for reconstruction of the account of ancient history, as Kashmir and Nepal. In fact, these are the only three regions in the Himalayas of which full accounts of history could be reconstructed. *The magnificent stone temples of Kashmir which once adorned the banks of the Jhelum as far as they still exist, now present the sad spectacle of desolate ruins. The valley of the Ravi, on the contrary, owing to its more sheltered situation, still contains numerous well preserved temples and some unique brass images of excellent workmanship.* Thus the study related to Chamba, situated on the southern border of the Kashmir, possesses significance for the entire western Himalayas.

On the return of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, in 1912, to his native country, Holland, the work of further study on Chamba remained suspended for a long period. Only after about fifty years, two other important publications on Chamba 'inscriptions' and 'Art and Architecture' appeared; *Early Wooden temples of Chamba*, written by Dr. H. Goetz, in 1954, and *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part II, written by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, in 1957.

In a period of the past about three decades, Pahari painting has received the attention of scholars the world over and the paintings from Chamba have, too, been studied. Several articles, research papers and doctoral thesis, have also appeared on Chamba painting. In this long period, there have been more discoveries in other fields as well. Time had, thus, come to review the work done so far.

In the Seminar apart from senior historians and other specialists, who have earlier done work on history and arts of Chamba, have been invited for presenting research papers, the scholars who are doing research in this field and some other scholars associated with similar type of studies, particularly those from University and colleges, have also been invited to participate. The high level academic discussions among the specialists from the senior and the younger scholars, will take stock of the research work done so far. The scholars will give their own interpretations, present new evidence and material, concerning the history of Chamba which can provide direction and, thus, stimulate further research not only on Chamba but on other adjoining regions as well.

J.C. Datta,
Director,
Languages and Culture
Himachal Pradesh.

Seminar on ‘History and Culture of Chamba’

PROGRAMME

September 26, 1983

10.15 a.m. to 10.35 a.m.	Inauguration (Introduction, welcome & inaugural address).
Session I	
	Dr. Karl J. Khandalavala Keynote Lecture Chamba : The cultural background Visit to Museum gallery.
11.45 a.m.	Coffee Break
12.15 p.m.	Dr. B. K. Thapar 'The Early Archaeology of Chamba'
1.00 p.m. to 2.30 p.m.	Lunch break
Session II	
Chairman	Dr. B. N. Goswamy
2.30 p.m.	Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan ‘Vaishnava influences in Chamba’
3.10 p.m.	Dr. L. P. Pandey ‘The Shakti cult in Chamba’
3.45 p.m.	Dr. Rita Sharma ‘Saiva influences in Chamba’
4.15 p.m.	Tea Break
4.40 p.m.	Dr. B. N. Puri ‘Chamba under the Gurjaras-Pratiharas’

5.30 p.m.	Visit to the temples in Chamba town
7.30 to 8.30 p.m.	Cultural Programme at the Bhuri Singh Museum
8.30 p.m.	Dinner
September 27, 1983	
Session I	
Chairman	Dr. Karl J. Khandalavala
9.30 a.m.	Dr. B. N. Goswamy ‘Some painter families of Chamba’
10.05 a.m.	Shri Jagdish Mittal ‘Chamba painting — A reconstruction’
10.40 a.m.	Dr. Karuna Goswamy ‘Pahari Portraits from Chamba’
11.15 a.m.	Coffee Break
11.45 a.m.	Dr. Chandramani Singh ‘Chamba Rumals’
12.25 p.m.	Shri Ajit Singh ‘Pahari drawings from Chamba’
1.00 p.m. to 2.30 p.m.	Lunch Break
Session II	
Chairman	Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan
2.30 p.m.	Dr. R. N. Misra ‘The Vaikuntha images from Chamba and other centres in north - western India’
3.05 p.m.	Dr. V. C. Ohri ‘A Survey of Chamba Sculptures’
3.40 p.m.	Dr. Krishna Deva ‘The Wooden Temples of Chamba’
4.15 p.m.	Tea Break

4.40 p.m.	Shri L. S. Thakur 'Mandala and Nagara temples—architecture of Himachal Pradesh — Chamba, a case study.'
5.30 p.m.	Visit to Chamba Rumal Centre
7.30 to 8.30 p.m.	Cultural Programme at the Bhuri Singh Museum.
8.30 p.m.	Dinner
Septembr 28, 1983	
Session I	
Chairman	Dr. B. K. Thapar
9.30 a.m.	Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri 'The currency system and coinage of Chamba and adjoining regions'
10.05 a.m.	Shri M.C. Joshi 'Socio-Economic gleanings from the inscriptions of Chamba — 8th century to 13th century'
10.40 a.m.	Shri A. N. Khanna 'Socio-Economic gleanings from the inscriptions of Chamba — Post 13th century'
11.15 a.m.	Coffee Break
11.45 a.m.	Dr. J. K. Sharma 'The economic conditions of Chamba as revealed in ancient inscriptions'
12.20 p.m.	Dr. A. R. Khan 'Aspects of the History of Chamba, 17th—19th century — A re-examiniation of some Persian Documents in the Bhuri Singh Museum.'
12.50 p.m.	Dr. Shyama Bhardwaj 'Administrative structure in Chamba State in the 19th century'

1.00 p.m. to 2.30 p.m.	Lunch Break
Session II	
Chairman	Dr. Anand Krishna
2.30 p.m.	Dr. M.P. Bhardwaj 'Historical gleanings from the Chambyali, Brahmori and Churahi dialects'
3.05 p.m.	Dr. B. K. Kaul Deambi 'Social and Economic conditions of Ancient Chamba'
4.15 p.m.	Tea Break
4.40 p.m.	Shri Mohan Singh 'A the Peasant Revolt in Chamba in the late nineteenth century'
Concluding Session	
5.30 p.m.	Visit to the workhop of Shri Prakash Chand
8.30 p.m.	Anand Dinner

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CHAMBA ACHAMBA

J. Ph. Vogel on the Chamba Region

—*B. N. GOSWAMY*

It is not easy to guess at what must have first stimulated the interest of Jean Philippe Vogel, distinguished Indologist and Superintendent of the Northern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India for many years, in the remote hills of Chamba. It might have been his contact with Professor T.W. Arnold, a friend who was then teaching at the Government College at Lahore, that provided the first stimulus. As he says in this remarkable work, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, it was indeed Professor Arnold who "first drew my attention to Chamba as a possible field of antiquarian research". That was as early as 1902. But 'a wealth of epigraphic records' is not necessarily, or always, enough to start what began to sound, in later years of Dr. Vogel's writings, an 'affair of the heart'. He seems to have come to regard the state with true fondness not only for its great antiquity, but for what it represented: the survival of a curious mixture of innocence and pride in the midst of a change that was fast overtaking the world even in the opening years of this century.

With the kind of training that he had had, Dr. Vogel could not but have responded to the fact of the hoary antiquity of the ruling houses of the hill states of the Punjab. He had naturally read all that Sir Alexander Cunningham had written on the subject. From Chamba town itself, which Cunningham had visited in 1839, he had discussed "the inscribed (8th century) images of Meru-varman and the chief temples of the capital, gave a list of the Rajas and mentioned the existence at Chamba town of four inscriptions, three on copper-plates and one on a stone-slab". But now wherever he looked himself, the ancient-ness of the Rajput families of the hills must have impressed itself upon him. Others had 'succumbed' to the fact earlier, and written about it. Mr. Barnes, in the *Settlement Report* of the Kangra District, had described the hills as "inhabited by Hindu races from time immemorial". William Moorcroft may have been the first European too actually see a genealogical roll or *vansavali* that took the history of a ruling house to far, far back into the past. He had seen it with Sansar Chand, the celebrated Raja of Kangra, in the early years of the 19th century, and wrote on it in his *Travels*, as Dr. Vogel noted:

> Sansar Chand deduces his descent from Mahadeo, and has a pedigree in which his ancestors are traced to their celestial progentitor, through many thousand years. I requested to have copy of this document, and some Kashmir Pundits were ordered to transcribe it against my return. The pedigree is written in verse, and contains in general little more than the birth and death of each male individual of the family.
>
> (*Travels*, vol. I.p. 145)

But easily the most evocative of the observations on the antiquity of the ruling houses of the hills had come from Sir Lepel Griffin who was later quoted by Sir Denzil Ibbetson (*Punjab Castes*, p. 160). ''Antecedent to what are historical times'', Sir Lepel Griffin wrote, ''conjecture must take the place of truth''; but with reference to the genealogical rolls of the hill Rajas, he went on to say that :

> it is not difficult to imagine that those long genealogies by the side of which the noblest names of Europe seem but as of yesterday, contain some semblance of the truth. These quiet mountain valleys, guarded by difficult passes, by ice and by snow, lay altogether out of the path of the invading armies which, one after another, in quick succession, poured down upon the plains of Hindustan from the north-west. Here a peaceful race, with no ambition urging them to try their strength against their neighbours, and with little wealth to tempt invasion, may have lived quietly for thousands of years, and their royal dynasties may have been already ancient when Moses was leading the Israelites out of Egypt, and the Greeks were steering their swift ships to Troy.

Beginning with 1902, and every year since then till the completion of his celebrated *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba* in 1909, Dr. Vogel was in Chamba ''to devote part of the summer months'' to the ''pleasant task'' of reconstructing the history of Chamba state, and of documenting its various cultural and antiquarian remains. By this time, he had formed a personal friendship with the Raja Chamba, Sir Bhuri Singh, whose interest and enthusiasm he acknwledged when he ''respectfully inscribed'' his *Antiquities* volume to him ''as a token of frindship and gratitude.'' The ruler had placed at the scholar's disposal an enormous amount of material out of the royal family's collection, and deputed important officials like Captain Sri Kanth Baratru and traditional scholars like Pandit Thakur Das to assist him. The Chamba *vansavali* was examined, transcribed, and translated by Dr. Vogel in accurate detail, the roll furnishing ''a fairly complete list of the rulers of Chamba from about AD 700''. Having studied it, Dr. Vogel came to the conclusion (*Antiquities*, p. iii), that there was ''much reason to assume that the ruling family of Chamba had indeed held sway in the Ravi valley for more than twelve centuries and may boast of an antiquity equalled by few reigning houses in India and none in Europe''. Drawing upon his European background and on his knowledge of the history of Europe, he added a footnote :

> The oldest reigning houses of Germany can trace their ancestry to the beginning of the 10th century of our era, such as that of Wittelsbach in Bavaria, that of Brabant in Hesse, and that of Wettin in Saxony. This does not, however, mean that from that date they have been the ruling dynasties of these countries.
>
> (*Antiquities*, p. iii)

Here it seems as if Dr. Vogal is arguing the case of Chamba. Through all of this one can discern an unusual degree of involvement, exceeding the scholarly and bordering on the emotional. Dr. Vogel was, as the youthful modern phrase has it, now 'hooked' on Chamba.

The work of the first decade at Chamba resulted in two distinguished volumes, the *Catalogue* of the Museum, and the *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, both of which have been referred to before, and on both of which he worked alone for the most part. There was much assistance from scholars, Indian and European, and long and useful discussions with others intersted in the area, chiefly Dr. J. Hutchison of the Church of Scotland Mission, who had made Chamba his home long before Dr. Vogel first went there, and who had strong antiquarian interests of his own. But these conscientious, meticulous, superbly-detailed volumes were his own personal "gift" to Chamba and its people, as it were. Throughout these works there runs a streak of excitement which seems to have been touched off by his discovery that, here in Chamba, things were almost the same that they had been more than a thousand years ago. He must have felt as if he was seeing here things in some kind of a time-warp. But there is no tinge of cold curiosity in his attitude, akin to what one might feel while looking at a fossilized impression of a living organism such as the leaf of a plant that flourised long ago. Quite opposite to that, there is a certain affection for the phenomenon. Consider this passage, for instance, from his preface to the *Antiquities* volume :

> There is one circumstance which lends to the antiquities of Chamba an interest far exceeding the narrow limits of local history. It is that the past to which they belong is connected with the present by a tissue of unbroken threads. Whereas in other and more oxposed parts of India one dynasty was quickly ousted by another, new creeds and customs came to supplant the old ones, and successive waves of foreign invasion swept away all remembrance of the past, Chamba, engirdled by her snow-clad mountain-barriers, has, century after century, retained ancient traditions and institutions, which are only now gradually giving way to the irresistible onslaught of western civilization.
>
> The antiquarian can hardly refrain from deploring this change which, though beneficial in many respects, so often tends to destroy that what is sanctified by the ages. But instead of lamenting the unavoidable changes of time, he will do well in retaining at least a record of the vanishing past.

To a similar situation obtaining in the other parts of the hills, Dr. Vogel was not insensitive. In fact, both in the *Antiquities* volume and the *Catalogue*, he was drawing attention to material from other states, especially neighbouring ones like Nurpur and Basohli, being available. These interests were to mature in a large undertaking the writing of the *History of the Panjab Hill States*, in collaboration with Dr. Hutchison. As a 'history', it contained gaps in information and bore all the uncertainties that paucity of authentic information forces on the theme: it also suffered from repetition and overlap of information, something that owes itself to the fact that each chapter dealing with individual states had first appeared in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society* in article form. But it remains, even to this date, the most comprehensive work available on the subject, and we all repair to it with relief whenever any information on the hills is needed. It must be said at the same time that, with all its virtues and inevitable inadequacies, it was marked by one fact: it lacked the wonderful sympathy for the subject that came through in the earlier works of Dr. Vogel on Chamba. Some of the sense of 'belonging' one discerns in a chapter or two, including the one on Chamba, but it became a 'straight' account for the most part. The clear 'historical' vision, the concern for distinguishing fact carefully from speculation or belief, did not mark only the *History*. The earlier works had these too: but they also had something else besides.

The *Catalogue* of the Chamba Museum, a slim volume to look at, was packed with information that Dr. Vogel must have collected with devouring interest. There were sections in it that went in a fuller manner into the *Antiquities* book too, sections like those on inscribed fountain-slabs and memorial stones, and the like; but the focus here was on what formed part of the collection in the newly put-together Museum. There were sections on inscriptions on stone and metal, on sculpture, on documents on paper, on embroideries and textiles, and ancient weapons, and so on. Everything was precisely documented, inscriptions were carefully deciphered, whatever information was available at that point of time was presented. But, in retrospect, possibly the most striking section of the *Catalogue* dealt with paintings, here simply entitled 'Pictures'.

Today we associate the beginnings of the study of Pahari painting with the early work on the subject by a savant like Ananda Coomaraswamy. To him we ascribe, with justice, the 'discovery' of Rajput Painting as a whole, for he was the one who defined this singular artistic phenomenon and gave it conceptual framework in the early years of this century. His essays of 1910 and 1912 on Rajput Painting in *Modern Review* and in the *Burlington Magazine*, his book on *Indian Drawings* (1910) published by the India Society, and his classic work on *Rajput Painting* (1916), are the things that stand out in one's mind, for in them is distilled incomparably the essence of Rajput work, whether it is from Rajasthan or from the Pahari area. Paintings from the hills were known before Coomaraswamy, and the Lahore Museum had already a collection before 1910. But frequently one tends to forget that the largest single body of paintings from the hills that was ever documented *before* Coomaraswamy, was documented by Dr. Vogel in the *Catalogue* that we are speaking of. The section on 'Pictures' is the largest in that volume, running into close to 20 closely-printed pages, and there is much valuable information in it. There are references to the evidence of Sir Thomas Roe on Mughal painting, and of Bernier, but, more important and nearer home, to the notices of paintings in the hills in the 19th-century travel accounts of Moorcroft, and of Baron von Ujfalvy. Sansar Chand's collection is spoken of, and so is that from Chamba that was seen by the Hungarian baron, especially the six paintings that he had reproduced in *Aus dem Westlichen Himalaja* (1884). There is a detiled description of the themes of these hill paintings: a section on 'The Indian Months' describes some Baramasa works, and places them in the classical context of Kalidasa's *Ritu-samhara*; the ten incarnations of Vishnu are spoken of, and so are the stories of Krishna from the *Bhagavata Purana*. Of the latter as many as 57 are listed, with inscriptions on the back of the Rukmini-harana pictures transcribed and interpreted. Eighty-three paintings of a *Ramayana* series, and 27 of a *Devi Mahatmya* series are described with reference to their specific context. Nine portraits of the Rajas of Chamba are described, and an equal number of Rajas from other states. Fairly detailed background material on the portraits is provided, and in a footnote Dr. Vogel mentions that he had seen, besides the collection at Chamba. Indian paintings both at Nurpur and Basohli.

One can see thus that there is not only an awareness of Indian paintings of the Punjab Hills, but also a special kind of interest in them. Dr. Vogel refers to Mr. Percy Brown calling some paintings from the Punjab hill courts as being of "the Kangra School". There is no conceptual scheme that he places these paintings in, nor does he speculate much about their origin or classification, the kinds of questions that an art-historian would find natural interest in. But he does make some general observations. Thus :

> From the Indo-Mughal art. which was largely influenced from Persia and to a certain extent also from Italy, sprang a new school of painting which flourished in the 18th century at the courts of the Hindu princes of the Panjab Hills and afterwards at that of the famaus Sikh King Ranjit Singh. Mr. Percy Brown calls it "the Kangra School". This name seems appropriate as Kangra was, from remote times, the leading Hill State of the Panjab.

He goes on to say that :

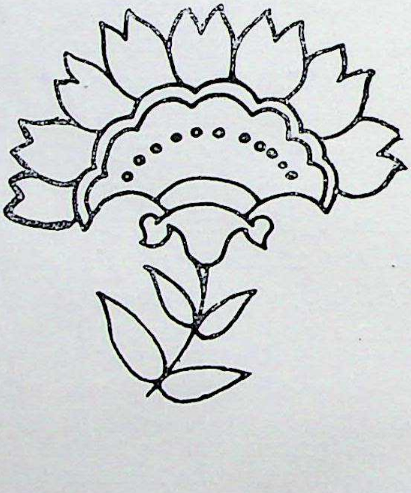
> Most of the numerous pictures which Mr. Percy Brown has acquired for the Lahore Museum originate from Kangra and perhaps once formed part of Sansar Chand's collection. Among them is the portrait of the traveller Moorcroft himself, probably painted at the time when he enjoyed the hospitality of the Katoch Raia. The collection of pictures which His Highness the Raja of Chamba has placed in the State Museum shows that in the other Hill States also the art of painting stood in favour.

It is only towards the end of his introduction to the section on paintings that there are some observations on the character of the paintings from the Chamba collection, and an appreciation of these.

Among the mythological pictures those relating to the legends of Aniruddha and Usha, of Krishna and Rukmini, and of the Brahmin Sudaman, exhibit all the excellence of Indian pictorial art : delicacy of lines, brilliancy of colour, and minuteness of decorative detail. It is not an art of great inspiration and powerful expression of thought or feeling, but one of patient labour and naive devotion. It is most closely related to the miniature painting which flourished in medieval Europe, *''quelle' arte che alluminare-e-chiamata in Parisi''*, as Dante says. (*Purg*. xi, 81). It is essentially a decorative art, and it is the ''laughing'' colours, to use Dante's expression, which makes the real joy of these pictures. The joy that Dr. Vogel speaks of here must have mixed well with what he was experiencing elsewhere in Chamba, as he worked with such tireless zeal. The quaintness of the place, its glorious links with the past, seem to have come to stay with him. And his fascination for this beautiful and ancient region found expression repeatedly in his writings. He wanted to share this feeling with others. This is so obvious from a long passage in the prefatory note of his *Antiquities* volume :

> Chamba is still ruled by a descendant of the noble house whose scions fought in the civil wars of Kasmir side by side with Harsa and Sussala. He still resides in the same ''glorious Champa'' whence his ancestors issued their copper charters, and where his subjects still hail him with the classical greeting ''Jai Deo !'' Up to the present day the people of Chamba worship in the temples founded by Sahilla-varman in the 10th century, and at Brahmor, the ancient capital Brahmapura, the silent brazen idols still enshrined in their wonderful wood-carved fanes in which Meru-varman piously placed them twelve centuries ago. The Ranas—those ''barons of the Hills,'' whose former importance was first revealed by the eulogies of Baijnath,—are still met with in Chamba, often, it is true, reduced to the state of poor peasants, but still clinging to their ancient title and to the ruins of their ancestral castles. The traveller too in the valleys of Chamba is still received after his day's march by an official whose title and presumably whose duties also have remained unchanged through the lapse of ages, though they have passed into oblivion in every other part of India.

The labour "both physical and mental" that Dr. Vogel spent on working on the antiquities of Chamba was evidently great. But it paid off, for it touched a chord of response also in other scholars like Hermann Goetz and B. Ch. Chhabra, some of them his own pupils, who were determined to carry on his work. That is another story. But perhaps also for them, as for Jean Philippe Vogel, "truly delightful" was "the task of revealing the antiquarian treasures hidden in that glorious mountain region which a popular adage so rightly describes as *Chamba achamba* "Chamba the Charming".



THE COLOURS OF CHAMBA

SOME NOTES ON CHAMBA RUMAL

—Vishwa Chander Ohri

The name Chamba *rumal* conjures up instantly a picture before us just like a Pahari painting done on cloth. A scholar has said that Chamba *rumals* are paintings done with needle. The word 'Chamba' in this case can be seen as a generic name for a particular type of embroidery done on cloth pieces by household women in different parts of Himachal Pradesh and the Jammu region as well. A short account of the popularity of this artistic craft in Chamba in the beginning of the twentieth century perhaps was responsible for connecting this art with Chamba and, thus, the name Chamba *rumal* came into use.

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel was, perhaps, the first scholar who appreciated the aesthetic value of these embroidered pieces of cloth. He collected four good specimens of Chamba *rumals* and included them in the collection of the Bhuri Singh Museum of which he wrote a scholarly catalogue, published in the year 1909.

Raja Sir Bhuri Singh of Chamba, 1904-1919, arranged for producing of many pieces of such embroidered cloth and took them to Delhi on the occasions of the Darbars held in the years 1907 and 1911. It seems quite probable that he did so on the inspiration of the work of Dr. Vogel. It is also known that some other articles of local crafts, particularly of wood, too were, taken by the Chamba Raja to Delhi. Those articles including the *rumals* must have been displayed there and distributed amongst the notables, particularly those from Britain.

Interesting information is available on the preparations done for these Darbars, relating to the production of the Chamba *rumals*. Twenty women possessing great skill in this craft were employed in the year 1907 for the production of the *rumals*. They worked in two groups and had embroidered forty yards long and twenty-seven inches wide cloth, cut into several small pieces of the shape of square and rectangular *rumals*. The work continued for about two months. The availability in Chamba town of so many skilled women for doing the embroidery work of good quality, suggests that the actual number of women then practising this craft, must have been much bigger. One group out of these twenty women worked at the house of Pandit Mangnu, where now the *gurudwara* building stands. The other group worked at the house of Sohnu tarkhan (carpenter) who belonged to the last generation of competent Pahari painters in Chamba town. The drawings on the *rumals* were done by Sohnu who also guided the colour schemes. The women were paid rupee one each per day as wages apart from the food provided at the State expenses. Information about the wages paid to painter Schnu is not available. The women who worked were either from the Brahmin families or from the families of the carpenters, and it thus becomes clear that they worked at two different places. No name of any Rajput woman is known although it is a well known fact that in Chamba this craft was even popular with the women in the Royal house. Names of all the twenty women are not available. However, some names are very well known *e.g.* Kuki and Daulti Badyanis, Jai Dai, Bhajnu, Phingo, and Godha Pandityanis, Banti of the Baru family and Sundroo of a Kashmiri Pandit family.

Kuki Badyani was also known for her skill in cut-work and applique work. Daulti worked as Instructress of sewing and embroidery, in the State-aided Girls School run by the Church of Scotland mission at Chamba town. In fact, both the State Girls School and the Mission girls School had always Instructress on their staff for imparting training to students in this craft.

In the group working at the house of Pandit Mangnu, Smt. Maneshi Devi[1] fortunately still living, and Lachho, both then of about ten years of age, worked for winding of silk thread, etc. They were paid two annas each as daily wages.

Obviously these embroidered cloth pieces were much admired in the gathering of the 1907 Darbar in Delhi. There is likelihood that the Raja had also taken to Delhi some old pieces of Chamba *rumals* to be given as gifts. This was most probably the first general appreciation of these embroidered cloth pieces and thus Chamba earned the name related to this craft.

Before we give the account of some other interesting facts concerning this artistic activity in Chamba, another similar event is also worth mentioning. There was a grand Darbar, the coronation Darbar in Delhi in the year 1911. Again many pieces of Chamba *rumals* were produced and taken for display and distribution in Delhi. We know that the painter Sohnu tarkhan was still active but this time he was helped in the work of drawing done on *rumals* by Mati, the sister of tarkhan Mangnu[2], of the traditional painters family. Gijni, sister of Sohnu tarkhan also did the embroidery work. Names of some other persons who worked in the year 1911, are also known. Gauri Sunyari, Nanno and Hatoo, (they were sisters belonging to Sikh family)[3] Ramoo and Likhi Pandityanis, Sundru and Janno Pujyalis, Kesari Badyani and

Parvati of Bhattiyat also did embroidery work. A flag showing the motif of the Sun, which was the insignia of the Rajas of Chamba, was also embroidered with other floral, meandering designs.

In this hilly region adjoining the Panjab as we know, there were many small principalities. On the ascendency of the Sikhs to power under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, most of the Hill States were annexed to the Lahore kingdom and the rulers were reduced to the position of estate holders. Although, later on, their royal titles were restored, their territories were administered by the British. Only three states viz., Suket, Mandi and Chamba in the region situated to the West of the Sutlej somehow escaped annexation. They maintained their separate entity till the creation in 1948 of the State of Himachal Pradesh in the Indian Union by the integration of the Panjab Hill States and the Hill States of the Simla region. We are also to consider in this context another Hill State, Bilaspur, situated along the Sutlej on both sides, where, too, painting activity in the Pahari style was in vogue. In Mandi, Suket and Bilaspur the type of embroidery more popular was different from the type of embroidery of the Chamba *rumals*. Usually cloth of deep red colour was used for embroidery.[4] Moreover the motifs were also different. The technique of Chamba *rumal* might have been known and was also in practice to some extent in these States, but with the rapid decline and disappearance of painting activity in the Pahari style, the craft of Chamba *rumals* there must have died out completely.

Some *rumals* embroidered in the technique of Chamba *rumal* do come from Arki (Baghal) but the figures seem on these *rumals*, produced in the early twentieth century, suggest that the drawings for the embroidery work were done by the women themselves. The figures embroidered on them are folkish, and somewhat strange in appearance.

The activity of embroidery in the style of Chamba *rumal* declined gradually in the territory of the former States of Kangra, Guler, Nurpur, Basohli, etc. on the withdrawal of patronage in the first half of the nineteenth century. The most prolific period of the production of Chamba *rumals* was the nineteenth century; but in the States named above, a radical political change occurred before the middle of the nineteenth century. These factors, too, explain the survival or existence of this artistic activity only in Chamba where painters continued to work even upto the present times and ample patronage was available. A renewed interest had been created here in this craft by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel and Raja Sir Bhuri Singh. One rumal of oblong shape produced most probably in the second decade of this century is in the collection of the Bhuri Singh Museum. Scenes from the life of child Krishna are embroidered on it. The drawing must have been done by Pandit Ram Das who was then serving in tne Museum. The figures, composition and the colour scheme all indicate that the paintings of the Laharu Bhagawata set from the museum collection, were consulted for the production of this *rumal*[5]. The quality of the work is fine. The cloth used is of handspun yarn and woven on handloom[6].

A few more points concerning this craft are worth recording. The fame, thus acquired, helped greatly to popularize this activity in Chamba. Every one could not get the help of the painters particularly in consulting the colour scheme. Thus Women' now, started introducing their own colour schemes, but these were not devoid of aesthetic sense. Sometimes they were able to create pleasing as well as bold effect. Sometimes, however, they would experience difficully in selection of the colours[7] and would approach some other woman skilled in this craft with the words, *mere rumale di banni ruki gai,* (मेरे रुमाले दी बन्नी रुकी गई) and obtain guidance from her to complete the embroidery work.

After independence, after about one decade and a half this artistic activity received the attention of the Industries Department of Himachal Pradesh and the Himachal Pradesh Handicrafts and Handloom Corporation. A Training-cum-production centre for Chamba *rumals* was opened in Chamba which is still functioning. It imparts training to girl students. Smt. Maheshi Devi[8], then above sixty, and Shri Prem Lal, a descendant of a famous Gujarati painters family at Chamba, were appointed as the Instructress in embroidery and designer respectively in the first instance. They worked for a number of years and through them several women acquired skill in this craft.

1. This writer is grateful to Smt. Maheshi Devi for the information supplied for this note.
2. A signed painting by Mangnu is in the collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, W. G. Archer *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hill* — Part-I, No. 62 p. 91.
3. This family had migrated from the Panjab to Chamba in the nineteenth century and their family craft was block printing on cloth with pigments made of Silver and even gold.
4. In Mandi, Suket and Bilaspur, *rumals* used for offering tambula are called Hathaparu (हथापड़). Figural work seems to have not been so popular there. Only floral motifs and stylized birds were embroidered on them as is evidenced by the numerous specimens now available to us.
5. This writer had acquired this *rumal* for the museum a few years ago in Chamba town.

6. *It* is not known how much demand of ordinary cloth was met by local producers and how much had to be brought from adjoining regions. A part of the town towards its southern side was known as mohalla *Julakari*, that is the weavers lived there.

7. We also have information in respect of Kangra about the attention paid to the colour scheme of the embroidered *rumals*. Before starting the embroidery work on the drawings done on cloths, small spaces were embroidered with silk of different colours. This process was known as *chas lagana* (चस लगाणा). Thus it was possible to change and to finally decide the colour scheme. This process is similar to the one followed in Pahari drawings particularly of the nineteenth century which have come down to us. Some brush marks in different colours are applied for indicating the colour scheme. It is generally considered that the colour marks had been applied by the master painter for the guidance of the junior painters doing work of the filling of the colours. With the application of colour marks the painter could visualise the colour scheme as a whole and at that stage bring about the change as considered more appealing.

8. Smt. Maheshi Devi received the National Award for Master Craftsmen in the year 1965.

The Coming of Muslim Cultural Influence in the Panjab Himalaya

H. GOETZ

Ancient and modern India are separated by the coming of Islam. The successive Arab and Turkish invasions established a Muslim domination lasting 600-1200 years, and this domination could in the long run not fail deeply to influence also the whole style of Hindu life. Though Hindu civilization had, on the whole, been more refined than that of the contemporary Muslim countries, it had also been more isolated from the great currents of human progress which passed over the trade routes through the Muslim countries. Thus the latter could contribute many valuable new inventions to Indian life. Muslim political superiority even was in a considerable measure due to this control over new inventions not yet introduced amongst the Hindus. Muslim weapons, military tactics and fortification technique were far superior to those ot their Hindu contemporaries, and the use of paper permitted them for several centuries an administrative centralization superior to contemporary loose Hindu feudalism. On the other hand had the Hindu opponents of the Muslims been no more the direct carriers of ancient Indian cultural achievements. They had been frontier men or provincials whom the Huna-Gurjara invasion of the 5th-7th centuries had carried to power, or internal convulsions such a result periodically from the degeneration of refined societies. Though after some generations they had themselves brought forth a refined traditionalist court culture, their landed aristocracy and peasantry had hardly been affected by these achievements. This court culture, therefore, was practically wiped out with the fall of the Hindu kingdoms before the Muslim attacks. It is true that afterwards, especially between ca. 1360 and 1630, and again between 1740 and 1830, Hindu tradition saw successive renaissances under Vijayanagar, Rajput and Maratha rulers. But these were artificial revivals which could reconstruct temple architecture and sculpture or learned Sanskrit literature, but had very little influence on all practical aspects of life. There, either Muslim innovations were taken over, or the national spirit of the new Hindu classes found at last its own genuine way of self-expression, setting aside both foreign and antiquarian influences.

This important transition phase in the history of Indian civilization, however, has so far been hardly studied. It has generally been assumed that during the heyday of Mughal power in the 17th century most Muslim innovations were accepted by the

Hindus. Though there is some truth in this assumption, the actual process of assimilation was much slower, longer and more complicated. And it varied very much from province to province, from state to state. In this study I intend to analyze the aspect which it assumed in the Panjab Himalaya, at the hand of material collected during research tours undertaken in 1937, 1939 and 1947. This material, however, would have proved incomprehensible without the historical and archaeological pioneer work of my beloved teacher Professor J. Ph. Vogel, without his researches in the history and archaeology of Chamba State,and his and Dr. J. Hutchison's History of the Panjab Hill States. No better tribute can be paid by a pupil to his guru than the continuation of his researches, be it even in only one branch of such a comprehensive and profound life work.

Before approaching our subject, it is perhaps not out of place first to discuss a general phenomenon connected with the process of cultural transition to the bearing of which on the history of Indian civilization has so far not been paid sufficient attention: The phenomenon of the time-lag in the migration of cultural goods. Thus, e.g. Gothic art flourished in Great Britain and Spain when in Italy and France it was superseded by the Italian Renaissance, and Italian cultural influence in Austria, France, England and Spain was strongest when Italy was already declining under the Hapsburg yoke. Gupta influence was strongest in Chinese art after the collapse of Gupta civilization, and Achaemenian influence strongest in Maurya art after the Achaemenian Empire had already disappeared. And never before European cultural influence had been so overwhelming than just in our own days when Europe has already lost her dominant world position. This our own experience makes it easy to explain the phenomenon. A flourishing and still growing civilization absorbs all its best artists, scholars, writers, engineers, politicians. It exports only the offal of its productions, and only few first-class creations reach other countries, admired, but in most cases beyond the reach of most foreigners. A declining civilization, on the other hand, can maintain its exports only by selling its most refined products, and even then has a surplus of experts who, driven by misery or political persecution, are willing to accept jobs in "barbarian" countries. But as the phenomenon repeats itself in a minor measure even with borrowed cultural goods, we are confronted with repeated series of migrations until traditions land in some secluded corner where, as folk customs or art, they may for centuries and millennia survive the models which had originally inspired them.

Thus we might a priori assume that also in the Panjab Himalaya the principal periods of Muslim influence had coincided whith those of Muslim political decline in the plains and that even then they started rather late. For the small states would probably have received most innovations only second-hand. There might even exist a time-lag between the cultural change in the exterior and the interior hills. Now let us compare these theoretical probabilities with the evidence of the monuments.

The first result of the Muslim invasions into the Panjab was a Golden Age of Hindu art in the Himalaya. It is true that in 1009 Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni took the almost impregnable hill fort of Kangra (Nagarkot), situated on perpendicular cliffs between the gorges of the Banganga and Manjhi, two tributaries of the Beas River, and carried away the fabulous treasures of the Sahi kings of Wahind. But else the mountains had little to attract him and he preferred to extend his raids into the wealthy kingdoms of Northern and Central India. Though Nagarkot was held by the Muslims until 1043, and again 1051-52, the kingdoms of the Panjab Himalaya enjoyed, on the whole, peace and prosperity under Mahmud's weak successors, struggling to defend themselves against Saljuks, Ghorids and Hindus. Partly this was due to the fact that Hindu trade to Kashmir had now been deflected to the route through the exterior Sivaliks, partly, however, it must have been the result of an immigration of refugees from the Sahi kingdom. For the temple style of this period reveals several trends, one of Kashmir influence, another, in Kumaon (Dwarahat, Baijnath, Katarmal, etc.) and in reconstructed Kangra Fort (Darsani Darwaza, Lakshmi-Narayan and Sitala Temples) coming from the flourishing Hindu state of the Ganges plain, and a third, rich yet barbarian, in Chamba, Balor and Babbor, which seems to have been introduced from the Western and Central Panjab.

The second wave of the Muslim invasion which was initiated by the two battles of Tarain 1190 and 1192 and the collapse of the Rajput kingdoms of Northern and Central India after the death of Prithvi Raj III had different consequences. Now it was Nepal which profited by the immigration of cultured refugees from Buddhist Bihar and Bengal. West of Nepal, howover, the consequences were disastrous. A few years ago (1160-86) the Chauhan rajas had reconquered the Eastern Panjab from the last Yaminis, and the rajas of Trigarta and lords of Kangra had fought by their side against the invaders at Tarain. Now the hills were overrun by innumerable brahmin and kshatriya refugees whom Jayachandra of Trigarta and Vijayavarman of Chamba first occupied as mercenaries, but who upset the whole social order when this proved no more possible. The Hindu Himalaya thus relapsed into a chaos of anarchy and barbarism lasting between 150 and 300 years during which rana fought rana, and thakur fought thakur, whereas the rajas sank down to helpless figure heads, and art and literature disappeared. Only Trigarta preserved a remnant of its former power, but even that was broken by the capture of Kangra Fort during Muhammad Tughluq's crazy expedition 1337. His army perished in the hills, probably as a result of a guerilla war for which the Sivaliks are excellently suited, but which was to undermine not less the prestige of Trigarta. From that moment onward the smaller kingdoms began to emerge again from the complete obscurity into which they had disappeared at the end of the 12th century. Neither had Firoz Shah's invasion about 1365 serious consequences beyond a nominal acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Delhi which an inscription of Sansar Chand I, in the reign of Muhammed Shah Sayyid, makes probable.

Khalji imperialism had been built on the depredation of India. Thus Muhammad Tughluq's attempts to squeeze, by means of an increasing terrorism, from an exhausted empire the wealth already drained off by his predecessors, drove even his own officers to rebellion. When practically all Muslim governors had risen in revolt against the sultan of Delhi, also the hour of a Hindu renaissance came. From Firoz Shah to Akbar the Muslim history of India is a story of provincial sultanates defying the rulers of Delhi and warring with each other, and of district chiefs, Hindu as well, as Muslim, defying the authority also of the smaller sultanates. From their retreats in mountain fortresses and from the obscurity of tolerated despised zamindars and robber chieftains the Hindus kshatriyas reconquered and consolidated their kingdoms, often defeated, but never broken. When the Bahmanis fought against Delhi, Vijayanagar rose in the South, when Gujarat and Malva broke away, Rajputana became independent, when Timur invaded the Panjab, the hour of the Himalayan hill states had come. Parallel with this political renaissance went a cultural revival, a new art, a new folk literature, a new popular mystic religiosity. Expert architects were invited from Gujarat not only to Rajputana, but also to Kumaon under the next successors of Garur Gyan Chand (inscriptions dated 1367-1419) who had attempted to build up a hill empire (temples of Champavat and Dvarahat), whereas a more primitive building style, with almost plain walls, crude pillars and architravs, and stepped pyramid roofs, was introduced from Rajputana by Sansar Chand I of Kangra (ca. 1430-50) and later on taken over by Nurpur, Suket, Basohli and Chamba (Trimukh Temple). Likewise was Sanskrit literary activity revived by Brahmins summoned from other parts of India, as the numerous copperplate grants and stone inscriptions of this period prove (copperlate grants e.g. in Chamba since 1330, more common since 1557; in Kumaon since 1297, common since 1582). However, then the Hindu renaissance in the Western Himalaya started on an independent course, by a conscious study of the Mediaeval monuments on the spot and the training of local artists in their imitation. This revival of local Mediaeval temple style lasted from ca. 1550-1660, however followed by a second, minor revival between 1760 and 1825. It coincided, thus, more or less with the period of religious toleration under the Mughal emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan and that of Muslim impotence after the collapse of the Mughal empire.

Already during this first Renaissance we can observe very archaic Muslim features, the origin of which we can at present not trace because the missing Indian links between them and their prototypes in Iran have not yet been discovered. In Chamba e.g. lion statues and reliefs are found in front of the Chamunda, Vajresvari and Champavati temples and in the walls of the (modern) Hanuman temple (in the compound of the great Lakshmi-Narayan temple). Though intended as the vahanas of the Great Goddess, they represent types which obviously are almost pure descendents of the Saljuq lion statues of Iran and Fatimid and Ayyubid aquamaniles, and cousins of the figures in the Lion Court of the Alhambra in Spain. They belong to the reign of

Prithvi Singh (1641-64), when in the Golden Age of Shahjahan and of Aurangzeb's early years suchlike motifs had already been completely forgotten by the Indian Muslims. A still later case is the ornaments imitating star-shaped tiles in the temples of Umed Singh (1748-64) at Devi-ri Kothi and Mehla; suchlike tiles had been the fashion in Iran in the 13th-14th centuries and were in India no more known even in Akbar's time. Also the Radha-Krishna Temple at Chamba (1825) shows creeper ornament motifs which in the plains were in fashion not later than the 15th century. This last temple had been built by architects who seem to have come from Guler (to conclude from the resemblance to the Naun (fountain) of Javali, and there are strong reasons to believe that Prithvi Singh had engaged artisans from Nupur and Basohli.

Unfortunately these motifs have so far been either ignored by archaeologists or dismissed as folk art, so that a systematic survey of them is still needed. Most of Nurpur architecture before the middle of the 17th century, however, has disappeared, and at Basohli no vestiges of the old palaces are left. But it is worth mentioning that at least half of the architectural forms traceable at Taragarh, a hill fort erected 1625-30 by Jagat Singh of Nurpur and taken 1642 by prince Murad Bakhsh, belong not to the Mughal, but to the Tughluq tradition. And in the Siva temple of Mahadhera near Basohli (late 16th century) ornaments can be seen unkown to Hindu and Mughal art, but common in Mediaeval Muslim and Romanesque European architecture.

Had all these motifs, echoes of the lost Yamini and of Tughluq art, once been imported by refugees from the Ghorid and Timurid invasions? Or were they imported much later, by the masons employed by Khawass Khan and Hamid Khan Kakar in erecting the strong holds with which Sher Shah Sur tried to control the hills about 1540 ? For it seems probable that these merely utilitarian buildings were constructed not by the best architects of the capital, but by provincial masters who may well have preserved many outmoded traditions. But all the evidence is so far missing. The only parallel case I know is the "Ghazni Throne" of the rajas of Pugal, vassals of Bikaner, a genuine, though poor Yamini piece of furniture. But in the light of later similar developments which we shall have to discuss shortly, some suchlike assumption seems unavoidable.

After Akbar's conquest (1557, 1572-73, 1594-95) and even after the campaigns of Jahangir (1615-20) and Shahjahan (1640-42) Mughal civilization penetrated the Panjab Himalaya before the middle of the 18th century only in a very limited measure. The first thing to be imitated, though very imperfectly, was the fortification technique. And this already before the Mughals took Kangra Fort in 1620 and before Ali Khan renovated its walls and gates. Ganeshgarh in Southern Chamba State, constructed 1558, shows the same wall and battlement type as Akbar's Hariparbat Fort at Srinagar, though its groundplan resembles the later Chinjloh Fort at Basohli. Also the early outworks at Nurpur and Jagat Singh's wall at Taragarh are of the same type. But in contrast to the Mughal forts the gate defences are everywhere very poor, and arrangements for housing and stores quite insufficient. Already in Akbar's time Mughal textiles and costumes became known, and the Chamba treasury had until the great fire of 1937 preserved some beautiful pieces, presents of the emperor Jahangir to prince Janardan and Bishambar 1622. It was first the rajas of Nurpur who introduced more of Mughal culture into the Beas Valley. They had learned the lesson of successive crushed rebellions that, even in federation, they could not oppose the Mughal emperors. But they had also learnt the other lesson that as Mughal officers they might increase their power and expand their states so much that—perhaps—they might dream of another, more successful revolt. Basudev (1580-1613), Suraj Mal (1613-1618), Jagat Singh (1619-46), Rajrup (1646-61), Mandhata (1661-1700), all, rose to high positions in the Mughal army and court, commanding armies and governing provinces. Thus they became well acquainted with life at the Mughal court and introduced into their states seemed what useful for their power and prestige. But then their oppression forced their neighbour rulers Bhupatpal and Sangrampal of Basohli, Prithvi Singh of Chamba, Suraj Sen of Mandi and Man Singh of Guler, likewise to seek the favour of the Mughal court, and to introduce the same reforms. And the same happened in Kumaon under Lakshmi Chand (1597-1621). But only part of the innovations were Mughal, such as a more centralized administration made possible by the use of paper (instead of a loose feudalism based on grants engraved on occasional copperplate grants), rifles and small guns, and beautifully inlaid or enamelled weapons brought home as imperial presents.

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For all these were adopted not because they were used by the Mughals, but because they had already been adopted by the great Rajput states, Amber, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Orchha. And from those latter the whole of contemporary Rajput civilization was taken over between the end of the 16th and the middle of the 17th century. The ruined Krishna temple of Basudev at Nurpur is a complete counterpart of the Kachhwaha temples in the holy Braj country, especially of the Haridev at Govardhan (1557) and the Govinddev at Brindaban (1598) but for part of the sculptures which reveal a local note, connecting the tradition of the Mediaeval fountain stones of Churah, Mahadhera and Manali with classic Kangra art and some even of Mughal type. Likewise was "Basohli" painting first introduced from Rajputana (Amber and Bikener?)and preserved its original character through most of the 17th century, until with the decline of Mughal supremacy (about 1700) the local taste gained the upper hand.

Since the end of Jahangir's reign this influence became even stronger. For the great princes of Rajputana (Jai Singh I of Amber, Karan Singh of Bikaner, Gaj Singh of Jodhpur, Bhao Singh of Bundi) now began to introduce the classical Mughal style in their states, so that artisans accustomed both to the older Rajput and the Akbari ("Fathpur-Sikri") style of architecture and painting lost their jobs and had to find employment in the smaller states, Akbari architecture seems to have caught a foothold in Basohli early in the 17th century, to conclude from the miniatures, for no secular building of this time has been preserved. The Basohli temples, on the other hand, reveal a quaint mixture of early "Renaissance" features, plain architraves and pyramidal roofs, with early and classic Mughal elements, Mughal columns and cusped arches, by the side of latticed windows and pentroofs supported by miniature Rajput brackets, The same mixture, though less outspoken, can be traced in rural shrines at Haripur, Nurpur, Kangra, Alampur, etc. The Mughal keel-arch turns up occasionally since the middle of the 17th century at Basohli, Kangra, Chamba; the octagonal Shahjahan columns with star flower basis in Chamba, Mandi and Alampur early in the 18th century, at Rajnagar in the middle of the century.

First at Nurpur we are confronted with the pure Mughal style, such as it developed under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb in the provinces, in the fortifications and the 'Thakurdwara" of the fort, built by raja Mandhata (1661-1700). The latter is a Mughal Charbagh with a central fountain (now a chabutra) and four pavilions at the ends of the now destroyed water channels. Everything now is a wilderness of ruins and jungle, except the Thakurdwara which had formed the Krishna temple of the ranis, as it is even to-day the case in the Jaipur palace, and which alone has been preserved as a sanctuary. The paintings of the lower wall dados resemble similar "Mughal" work at Bundi, as likewise, the reliefs around the central chabutra, whereas the rest of the frescoes in the Thakurdwara is the work of the Kangra School. Also the contemporary Asadevi Tample at Asapuri, built by raja Vijai-Ram-Chand (1660-87) of "Kangra" (then actually Vijaipur) reveals strong Mughalborrowings, though very provincial and badly misunderstood.

Further to the East, in Mandi, Kulu, the Simla States and Kumaon similar Mughal influence could so far not yet be traced, and Mughal elements must have reached those states only much later, in the course of the later 18th century. And the same seems to have been the case further towards the West, beyond Basohli. Some of these Western states were converted to Islam, Rajauri between the late 14th and late 15th century, Punch in the early 17th, Kashtwar about 1700 A.D.; and the Mughal emperors had constructed their sarais and other buildings along the roads to Kashmir in Rajauri and Bhimbar. But curiously enough a corresponding influence in the fields of art and material culture is absent, possibly because all these states then were too small and neglected as to afford suchlike luxuries.

But when Aurangzeb's last campaigns against the Marathas and Tanjore taxed the forces of the Empire to the utmost, all Mughal garrisons except that of Kangra Fort were withdrawn and imperial control reduced to a mere arbitration between the quarrelling rajas. Mughal cultural influence almost disappeared, but only to return stronger than ever, in another guise, some decades later. From Zakariya Khan to Mir Muin, Mughlani Begam and Adina Beg, Mughal control also over the Panjab became more and more precarious. 1737-38 the Persian armies of Nadir Shah swept over the province, and since 1747 the Afghan hordes of Ahmad Shah Durrani. Under Mughal, Maratha, Persian and Afghan oppression the desperate peasantry joined the revolutionary Sikh sect, until from general chaos there emerged first the twelve Sikh Misls and then the kingdom of Ranjit Singh. The situation of the 11th-12th centuries had returned. The many small hill states slowly united into three feudal groups under Kangra (Tira-Sujanpur), Chamba and Jammu. Trade, again diverted to the hills, brought prosperity, and refugees from the plains another cultural revival.

These refugees came in two waves. The first batch came as a result of Nadir Shah's invasion and seems to have consisted of some architects and painters, possibly also some pundits and people with administrative experience. For it is well possible that the beginning expansion of the Kangra raj under Hamir Chand (1700-1747) and Abhaya Chand (1747-50), and of Jammu under Ranjit Dev (1738-1781), though inspired by the personal ambition of the rulers, was effected with the practical advice of refugees conversant with the unscrupulous Macchiavellism then dominant in the plains. As a matter of fact, the scheming expansionism of the Kangra rajas in the 18th century resembled as much contemporary political method at Delhi, Lahore, or at other capitals, as it differed from the traditional Rajput code of honour of most of their neighbours. At 'Alampur and Teri also architects and painters, probably from smaller provincial places in the Panjab, must have settled down. But the most Important art centre was founded at the court of raja Govardhan Chand (1730-60) at Haripur, which is responsible for the older Haripur palaces, Thakurdwara and Naun at Javali and the early Guler school of painting.

A much greater number of refugees, however, was driven into the Himalayan valleys by the successive invasions of Ahmad Sahah Durrani and the guerilla war of the Sikhs against him. Cultural life in the Panjab collapsed completely, and refugees must have left also in other directions. There are strong reasons to believe that, e.g. the great art revival, in the contemporary Mughal style, at Bikaner under maharaja Gaj Singh (1745-87) must at least partly have been the result of an immigration of artists from the Panjab. In the Himalaya we witness at the same time a flare-up of many shortlived centres of Mughal art, of very varying quality, some very provincial, others of good, though not of the first quality. Such centres have been traced at Punch, Ramnagar (Bhandralta), Basohli, Chamba, Guler, Kangra, Kulu and Suket.

Basohli, though it had lost its political leadership, was still the most flourishing state west of the Ravi in the reign of raja Amritpal (1757-76). He built a great palace, in simple Mughal taste, but with ample use of Mughal flower decorations; however only the Zenana and hammam are preserved, whereas else it is hidden under the opulent stucco renovations and extensions added in Sikh times by raja Suchet Sin h. Likewise is most of the palace of Abhaya Chand (1747-50) and Ghamand Chand (1751-74) of Kangra at Tira now buried under the ambitious renovation of Sansar Chand II; only in the stable court and in the lower storeys of the old zenana the original architecture can still be traced. In Chamba on the other hand, this Mughal architecture was hardly obliterated by later additions though much was destroyed in the invasion of Amritpal of Basohli 1774. Of the garden palace at Rajnagar there is left only the Entrance Gate, with Mughal battlements and floral wall paintings. Of Umed Singh's (1744-64) reconstruction of the city palace (Pakki Chauki) only the Khanchandi court with heavy columns and a room with a large wall painting of the Mahabharata battle and wooden panels with Mughal figural reliefs (now in the Chamunda Temple) survive. The substructures and the groundfloor of the Rang Mahal were also built by him though the palace was completed in the following century. His extension of the Brahmor Kothi follows the local wood style already used by Prithvi Singh, but the columns, carved doors and balconies are all in a somewhat heavy Mughal taste. Also Umed Singh's Chamunda temple at Devi-ri Kothi in Churah adheres to the traditional hill shrine type, but its ornaments, reliefs and paintings are strongly influenced by provincial Mughal art. Finally in Guler also a good part of Haripur Castle and of Kotla Fort follows the Mughal style, whereas the old palace of Jammu has disappeared.

Of the parallel schools of painting we know more and also less. Bilaspur (Kahlur) and Kulu, though traced, are still shadowy to us. Ramnagar (Bandralta), rather primitive, and Punch, with overelongated figures, too small heads and much gilding, were both shortlived. Also the Basohli style under Amritpal is hardly studied; it shows the traditional, very characteristic picture composition of this centre but with all details and ornaments elaborated in the Mughal manner, with shadows and night scenes. The Chamba style under Umed Singh (1748-64) is rather crude and preserves certain archaic features, fleeting fronts and too large eyes, also a certain flatness and rigidness; but some groups are very expressive. Only during the early reign (1764-82) of Raj Singh the pure Mughal style same in fashion but was soon superseded by the Kangra taste. The Mughal-Kangra school (ca. 1748-1765) finally already reveals many of the qualities of the high Kangra style, a certain elegance and romantic atmosphere, but the groundwork is strictly Mughal and the colour scheme rather subdued.

Probably also rumal (cotton and silk covers embroidered with figural scenes) work, later on connected only with Chamba, was at that time introduced from the Panjab. Its technique is probably not of Indian, but of Irano-Turkish origin. The oldest known

Examples are from Basohli under Amritpal, in a mixed style combining the old local picture tradition with Mughal and Persian innovations. Similar early Kangra rumals must have existed, but have not yet been explored.

All these Mughal-Pahari schools of art were very shortlived (ca. 1748-1760.70). When chaos ruled in the Panjab, the prestige and influence of Mughal art were broken and, instead, the ideals of the hill Rajputs began to dictate the style of art. As in contemporary Rajputana, the Mughal technique was retained, but expression and subjects slowly changed. Dynamic lines, bright colours and flat composition, the scenery of the Sivaliks and the romantic idealism of the Pahari Rajputs superseded, step by step, the static lines, subdued colours, slight depth, and weary sentimentalism of later Mughal art. But before this process was completed, most of the local schools faded away before the glory that came from the court of the new overlord of the hills, Sansar Chand II of Kangra (1775-1823).

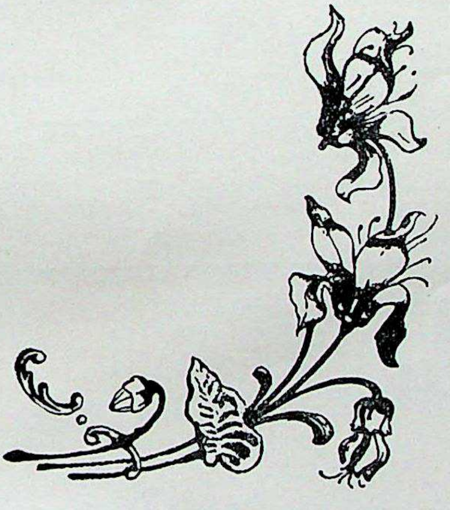
Kangra art was not a purist reaction against the imported Mughal style, it rather represented a healthy and strong evolution of that later. Its return to Rajput aesthetic ideals simply was the outcome of a strong natural urge of self-expression. For the hill Rajputs who cultivated this novel Mughal technique were children and grand-children of those who had still painted and collected pictures in the "Basohli" style.

The splendid political successes and cultural achievements of Sansar Chand II were, in fact, the result of ideas, ideals and techniques imported from outside. His treacherous diplomacy, his exactions, his Rohilla Afghan mercenary army, his plan to organize battalions drilled in the European manner, his palaces, temples, the costumes and style of life at his court, and finally his painting studies, were imports from outside, from Oudh. The new court dresses were those of Faizabad and Lucknow under Shuja and Asaf-ud-daula. His palaces at Tira and Nadaun are purest Lucknow architecture. The Baradari at Tira is a smaller imitation of the great Imambara of Asaf-ud daula; the garden houses at Nadaun resemble the Badshah Bagh. The Sitaram Temple at Tira and the Narabdeshar at Sujanpur are nothing but richly decorated baradaris, the latter, a Panchayatana, is surrounded by four octagonal chapels covered with low lotus doors. Only the Radhakrishna Temple is a copy of the famous Baijnath shrine, but also its exterior gateway is copied on Lucknow. Likewise imitate the very rich wall paintings the opulent "late Mughal" wall decorations we know not only from Lucknow, but also from Jaipur (Madho Vilas) and Galta, Jodhpur (Phul Mahal), Bikaner (Anup Mahal), etc. The walls of both the Sita-Ram and the Narabdesher Temple are covered with "miniature" paintings arranged in cartouches between the other wall ornaments. Hardly any of these paintings is in the Mughal taste, just because the transition from that latter to an indigenous Kangra style had already been achieved in the preceding reign of Ghamand Chand (1758-1774). Yet even then the influence of the Oudh school can be traced in many minor details.

Like Basohli had gone down in the wars with the Chambyals and Sikhs between 1782 and 1806, the power of Sansar Chand collapsed in the Gurkha War (1804-1809). After that war the broken old man lived as a tolerated vassal of Ranjit Singh of Lahore until 1823, and a few years after his death the Sikhs annexed the Kangra Raj in 1827. This war in-augurated another migration of artists; part of them went to the inner hill states, another part to the Sikh court. Though the Kangra style of life and art since ca. 1780 came in fashion in all the hill states, it was first as a result of the Gurkha War that considerable local schools of Kangra art developed also in Chamba, Mandi and Garhwal, i.e. the only states surviving Sikh rule. Only then also the Pahari rumals became connected solely with Chamba. However, the expensive brick and stucco architecture of Tira-Sujanpur the hill rajas could not imitate, but for some few, poor attempts, such as the bays of the Rang Mahal of Chamba. But this Kangra transformation of Oudh architecture was taken over by the Sikhs and evolved into that wonderful, though occasionally gaudy India ''Rococo'' art which we find everywhere in the Sikh palaces, temples and gurudwaras of the Panjab. Likewise forms Sikh painting the last phase of the Kangra school, retaining all its technical conventions, but twisting its aristocratic idealism, romantic and mystic, into a democratic realism, puritan and not seldom vulgar.

Thus, the transition from Mediaeval to modern India, the assimilation of the new cultural good introduced by the Muslims, so far as it was assimilable at all by Hindus, was in the Panjab Himalaya not completed before the time of Ranjit Singh. The earlier Muslim invasions into India had strengthened either Mediaeval Hindu civilization, or at least the Hindu population in the Himalaya. Also in the following centuries it was not Muslim, but Hindu civilization of the plains which transformed the life of the hills. And only when most aspects of contemporary Hindu life amongst Rajputs, Marathas and Sikhs, had been permeated with Muslim culture, it was taken over by the Pahari Rajputs. By the side of this indirect assimilation, however, went a minor trend of direct borrowings restricted to instruments of political power, weapons, fortifications, administrative methods, court ceremonial. Only in the last phase, when in the 18th century Indian civilization had become rather uniform, it became the leading current connecting Lahore with the hills, and Faizabad-Lucknow with Tira-Sujanpur.

There is some rhythm, but no rigid regularity in this process of assimilation. There can be traced two Golden Ages in the 11th-12th and the 18th century, when political chaos in the Panjab protected and favoured the hill rajas. There were two minor periods of prosperity when peace under a slight foreign control permitted at leasts ome states to dominate the rest as governors or acknowledged vassals, the 17th and probably also the 14th-15th centuries. There alternated two ways of cultural assimilation, passive acceptance of innovations brought by refugees and active, conscious import in imitation of mightier states. Refugees probably came in the early 11th century from the Sahi kingdom, about 1200 from the collapsed Mediaeval Rajput states, in the 14th from the Tughluq persecutions and Tamerlane's invasion (?), in the middle 18th from the Persian and Afghan devastation of the Panjab. Conscious imports were encouraged in the 11th-12th centuries from Kashmir and Ganges plains, in the 15th and early 16th centuries from Rajputana, Gujarat and the North Indian places of pilgrimmage (purely Hindu), in the late 16th and early 17th centuries from Rajputana (Muslim-Hindu mixed), in the middle and late 17th, middle late 18th centuries (Mughal); the first, foreign, of very limited influence, the second, half assimilated, affecting at least half of the more important states, the last one, completely assimilated and all dominant.



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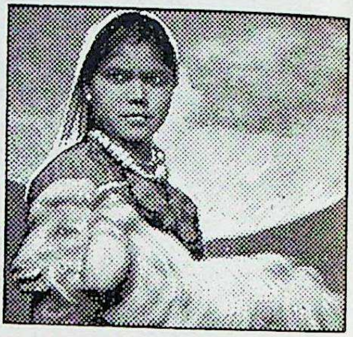

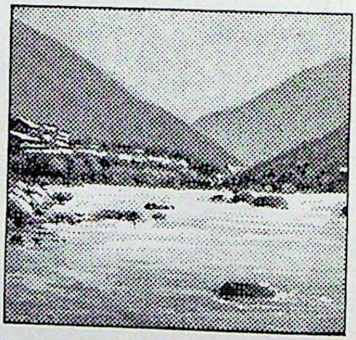

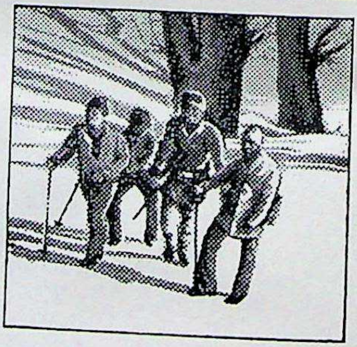

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